Changed Conditions, New Methods



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changes in certain of our laws, of our governmental methods. Our Federal system of government is based upon the theory of leaving to each community, to each State, the control over those things which affect only its own members, and which the people of the locality themselves can best grapple with, while providing for national regulation in those matters which necessarily affect the nation as a whole. It seems to me that such questions as mational sovereignty and State's rights need to be treated not empirically or academically, but from the standpoint of the interests of the people as a whole. National sovereignty is to be upheld in so far as it means the soveignty of the people used for the real and ultimate good of the people; and State's rights are to be upheld in so far as they mean the people's rights. Especially is this true in dealing with the relations of the people as a whole to the great corporations which are the distinguishing feature of modern business conditions.

Experience has shown that it is necessary to exercise a far more

great corporations which are the distinguishing feature of modern business conditions.

Experience has shown that it is necessary to exercise a far more efficient control than at present over the business use of those vast fortunes, chiefly corporate, which are used (as under modern conditions they almost invariably are; in interestate business. When the Constitution was created none of the conditions of modern business existed. They are wholly new and we must create new agencies to deal effectively with them. There is no objection in the minds of this people to any man's earning any amount of money if he does it honestly and fairly, if he gets it as the result of special skill and enterprise, as a reward of ample service actually rendered. But there is a growing determination that no man shall amass a great fortune by special privilege, by chicanery and wrongdolfig, so far as it is in the power of legislation to prevent; and that the fortune when amagsed shall not have a business use that is anti-social. Most large corporations do a business that is not confined to any one State. Experience has shown that the effort to control these corporations by more State action cannot produce wholesome results. In most cases such effort falls to correct the real abuses of which the corporation is or may be gailty; while an other cases the effort is apt to cause ofther hardship to the corporation staging and the rights of the corporations and which have not tried to grapple with the problem in the same manner; and of course we must be as scrupulous to safe guard the rights of the corporations engaged in intersate business. I believe, furthermore, that the need for action is most pressing as tegards those corporations which, because they are common carriers, exercise a quasi-public function; and which can be completely controlled, in all respects by the Federal government, by the exercise of the power conferred under the interstate commerce clause, and, if

As to interstate torporations,
In dealing with any totally new
set of conditions there must at the
outset be hesitation and experiment. Such has been our experiment. Such has been our experience in dealing with the enormous
concentration of capital employed
in interstate business. Not only
the Legislatures, but the courts and
the people, need gradually to be

STRIKING STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT

ignoble for a nation as for an indi-

essary to exercise for more effi-cient control than at present over

I believe in a national incorpora-tion law for corporations engaged in interactic business.

There is, unfortunitely, a cer-tain number of our fellow-citizens who seem to accept the view that unless a mm cen be proved guilty of some particular erime, he shall be counted a good citizen.

It is a good thing that life should

gain in sweetness, but only provided that it does not lose in strength.

The lesson above all others that Puritanism can teach this nation is the all-importance of the resolute performance of duty.

The true doctrine to preach to this nation, as to the individual, is not the life of case, but the life of effort.

not the life of case, but the life of effort.

The problems shift from generation to generation, but the spirit in which they must be approached, if they are to be successfully solved, remains ever the same.

The spirit of the Puritin was a spirit which never shreak from regulation of conduct, if such regulation was necessary for the public welfare. This is the spirit

which we must show to-day, whenever it is necessary.

It seems to me that such questions as national sovereignty and States' rights need to be treated from the standpoint of the people as a whole.

The national government should exercise over railrond corporations a similar supervision and control to that which it now exercises over mailtain banks.

We have found by actual experience that a jury which will sladly punish a corporation by face will nequit individual members of that corporation if we proceed against them criminally.

There exists no more sordid and unlovely type of social development than a plutoeracy.

educated so that they may see what the real wrongs are and what the real remedies. Almost every big business concern is engaged in interstate commerce, and such a concern must not be allowed by a dexterous shifting of position, as has been too often the case in the ast, to escape thereby all responsibility either to State or to nation. The American people became firmly convinced of the need of confirmly convinced of the need of conpast, to escape thereby all responsibility citiber to State or to nation. The American people became firmly convinced of the need of control over these great aggregations of capital, especially where they had a monopolistic tendency, before they became quite clear as to the proper way of achieving the control. Through their representatives in Congress they tried two remedies, which were to a large degree, at least as interpreted by the courts, contradictory. On the one hand, under the anti-trust law the effort was main to prohibit all combination, whether it was or was not hurtful or beneficial to the public. On the other hand, through the interstate commerce law a beginning was made in exercising such supervision and control over combinations as to prevent their doing anything harmful to the body politic. The first law, the so-called Sherman law, has filed a useful place, for it bridges over the transition period until the American people shall definitely made up its mind that it will exercise over the great corporations that thoroughgoing and radical control which it is certain ultimately to find necessary. The principle of the Sherman law, so far as it prohibits combinations which whether because of their extent or of their character, are harmful to the public, must always he preserved. Ultimately, and I hope with reasonable speed, the national government must pass laws which while increasing the supervisory and regulatory power of the government, also permits such useful combinations as are made with absolute openness and as the representatives of the government may previously approve. But it will not be possible to permit such combinations as are made with absolute openness and as the representatives of the government may previously approve. But it will not be possible to permit such combinations as are made with absolute openness and as the representatives of the government.

Urges Crimius! Proceedure.

In dealing with those who oftend against the anti-trüst and interestate commerce laws the

W. LAWSON'S COMMENT
ON PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Strenuous Boston Financier Rejoices in Solar Plexus
and experiment to the law of the confire one of the confire of the system was the mornfor one of the confire one of

Will Prosecute All Criminals.

I wish there to be no mistake on this point. It is idle to ask me of to prosecute criminals, rich or poor. But I desire no less emphatically to have it understood that we have undertaken, and will undertake, no action of a sindictive type, and, above all, no action which shall inflict great or unmerited suffering upon the innocent stockholders and upon the public as a whole. Our purpose is to act with the minimum of harshness compatible with obtaining our ends. In the man of great wealth, who has earned his wealth honestly and used it wisely we recognize a good citizen, worthy of all praises and respect. Business can only be done under modern conditions, through corporations, and our purpose is to heartly favor the corporations that do well.

The administration appreciates that liberal, but honestly appreciates that liberal, but honest, profit for legitimate promoters and generous dividends for capital employed, either in founding or continuing an honest business venture, are the factors necessary for successful corporate artivity, and, therefore, for generally prosperous business conditions.

All these are compatible with fair dealing, as between man and man, and rigid obedience to the law. Our aim is to help every honest man, every honest corporation, and our policy means, in its ultimate analysis, a healthy and prosperous expansion of business activities, of honest business men and honest corporations.

"No individual, no corporation, obeying the law has anything to fear from 's administration."

A Appeal for Employes.

I very earnestly hope that the legislation of corporations engaged in interstate business will also deal with the rights and disterests of the wageworkers employed by those corporations.

An Appeal for Employers liability law; but ultimately a more far-reaching and thorough-going law must be passed. It is monstrous that a man or woman who is crippled in an industry, even as the result of taking what are the necessary is the our propose that there will be legislation increasing the power of th

the moral standpoint is criminal, and their misdeeds are to a peculiar degree reprehensible, because those committing them have no excuse of want, of poverty, of weakness and ignorance to offer as partial atonement. Dhen in addition to atonement. When in addition to moral responsibility these men have a legal responsibility which can be proved so as to impress a judge and jury, then the department will strain every nerve to reach them criminally. Where this is impossible, then it will take whatever action will be most effective under the actual conditions.

take whatever action will be most effective under the actual conditions.

In the last six years we have shown that there is no individual and no corporation so powerful that he or it stands above the possibility of punishment under the law.

During the present trouble within the stock market, have, of course, received countless requests and suggestions, public and private, that I should say or do something to ease the situation. There is a world-wide financial disturbance. It is felt in the bourses of Paris and Berlin, and British consols are lower, while prices of railway securities have also depreciated. On the New York Stock Exchange the disturbance has been particularly severe, Most of it I believe to be due to matters and particularly confined to the United States, and to matters wholly unconnected with any governmental action but it may well be that the determination of the government—in which, gentlemen, it will not waver—to punish certain malefactors of great wealth has been responsible for something of the troubles—at least, to the extent of having caused these men to combine to bring about as much financial stress as they possibly can, in order to discredit the polley of the government, and thereby to secure

WEATHER

the first stage must be the exercise of a far more complete control by the national government.

Urges Criminal Procedure.

In dealing with those who offend against the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws the Department of Justice has to encounter many and great difficulties. Often men who have been guilty of violating these laws have really acted in criminal fashion, and if possible should be proceeded against criminally; and therefore it is advisable that there should be a clause in these laws providing for such criminal action, and for punishment by imprisonment as well as by fine. But, as is well known, in a criminal action the law is strictly construed in favor of the defendant, and in our country, at least, both judge and jury are far more inclined to consider fix right's thair they are the interests of the general public; while in addition it is always true that a man's general practices may be so bad that a civil action will lew hen it may not be possible to convict him of any one criminal act. There is unfortunately a certain number of our fellow-countrymen who seem to accept the view that unless a man can be proved guilty of some particular crime he shall be counted a good citizen, no matter how infamous the life he has led, no matter how pernicious his doctrines or his practices. This is the view announced from time to time with clamorous insistence, now by a group of predatory capitalists, now by a group of sinister announced from time to time with clamorous insistence, now by a group of predatory capitalists, now by a group of sinister anneal life, is acquitted of some one specific crime.

Such a view is wicked, whether applied to capitalist or labor leader, to rich man or poor, and all that I have said as to desirable and undesirable cilizens remains true.

But we have to take this feeling into account when we are debating whether it is possible to give a conviction in a criminal proceeding against some rich trust magnate, many of whose actions are severely to be condemned from the moral not c

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C. Hi BOSLEY,
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Unhealthy Kidneys Make Impure Blood.

Unhealthy Kidneys Make Impure Blood.

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Often The Kidneys Are

Weakened by Over-Work.

Those professed friends of liberty who champion license are the worst foes of liberty and tend by the reaction their violence causes, to throw the government back into the hands of the men who champion corruption and tyranny in the name of order. So it is with this movement for securing justice toward, all man, and equality of opportunity so far as it can be secured by governmental action. The rich man who with hard arrogance declines to consider the rights and the needs of those who are less well off, and the poor man who excites or indulges in envy and hatred of those who are less well off, and the poor man who excites or indulges in envy and hatred of those who are better off, are alike alien to the spirit of our national life. Each of them should learn to appreciate the baseness and degradation of his point of view, as evil in the one case as in the other. There exists no more sordid and unlovely type of, social development than a plutocracy for there is a peculiar unwholesomeness in a social and governmental ideal where wealth by and of itself is held up as the greatest good. The materialism of such a view, whether it finds its expression in the vapidly useless and self-indulgent life of a man who accumulates a vast fortune in ways that are repugnant to every instinct of generosity and of fair dealing, or whether it finds its expression in the vapidly useless and self-indulgent life of the Inheritor of that fortune, is contemptible in the eyes of all men capable of a thrill of lofty feeling. Where the power of the law can be wisely used to prevent or to minimize the acquisition or business employment of such wealth and to make it bay by income of inheritance tax its proper share of the burden of government. I would invoke that power without a moment's hestation can never be more thyn a part, it on the profession of the power of the area can extend the make and accomplish something by Jegislation, legisla-

tion.

But while we can accomplish something by legislation, legislation can never be more than a part, and often no more that a small part, in the general scheme of moral progress; and crude or vindictive legislation may at any time bring such progress to a halt. Certain socialistic leaders propose to redistribute the world's goods by refusing to thrift and energy and industry their proper supe-

riority over folly and idleness and sullen ency. Such legislation would merely, in the works of the president of Columbia University, where the world's efficiency for the purpose of redistributing the world's discontent." We should all of us work heart and sout for the real and permanent betterment which will lift our democratic civilization to a higher level of safety and usefulness. Such betterment can come only by the slow steady growth of the spirit which metes a generous, but not a sentimental, justice to each man on his merits as a man, and which recognizes the fact that the highest and deepest happiness for the individual lies not in selfishness, but in service.

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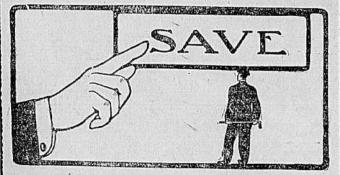
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moral and social standpoint, but no one of whose actions seems clearly to establish such technical guilt as will ensuré a conviction, As a matter of expediency, in enforcing the law against a great corporatioa, we have continually to weigh the arguments pro and cen as to whether a prosecution can successfully be entered into, and as to whether we can be successful in a criminal action against the chief individuals in the corporation, and if not whether we can at least be successful in a civil action against the corporation itself. Any effective action on the part of the government is always objected to, as a matter of course, by the wrong-doors, by the beneficiaries of the wrongdoors, and by their champions; and often one of the most effective ways of attacking the action of the government is by objecting to practical action upon the ground that it does not go far enough. One of the favorite devices of those who are really striving to prevent the enforcement of these laws is to clamor for action of such severity that it cannot be undertaken because it will be certain to fall if tried. An instance of this is the demand often made for criminal prosecutions where such prosecutions would be certain to fall if tried. An instance of this lightly prosecutions where such prosecutions would be certain to fall if we have found by actual experience that a lury which will gladly punish a corporation by fine, for instance, will acquit the individual members of that corporation if we proceed against them criminally because of those very things which the corporation and their respective presidents. The contracts and other transactions establishing the guilt of the corporation which they direct and control has done. In a recent case against the incortex trust we indicted and tried the two corporations were made through, and so far as they were in writing very signed by the two presidents. Yet the jury convicted the two corporations and acquitted the two men. Both verdicts could not possibly have been correct; but apparently th Many men of large wealth have been gullty of conduct which from